SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

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On the Question of Arming the People.

III.

We repeat what we have often said in these columns, a revolution can never be "made;" neither by one man, even if he were the most powerful genius, nor by a few thousand men, even if they were ever so fanatical.

We have examples of this in history.

Although the Catholic church in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth centuries was in pressing need of a "reform of head and members," as the holy church councils so often complained, yet the talented Cola Rienzi, after a brief season of triumph, was burned in Rome at the stake in the public market-place, amid the rejoicings of the people. Although the French especially were quite convinced of the necessity of a reformation, it was just in France, that the Albigenses were persecuted and rooted out with bloody severity. So it was in other countries. But when the time was ripe, there arose a rough monk, a man who was neither a genius nor a scholar. And this vulgar blusterer, Martin Luther, carried through successfully what many other and greater men before him had attempted in vain. The minds of men had been prepared for the revolution,—the reformation must be considered as such—just by the development of events.

So it is with every revolution. It is always dependent upon the development of conditions. The revolution is only the seal on a preceding evolution in men's minds. And it may require many so-called "revolutions" to carry out a thorough reform successfully.

In our opinion, those who would advise street riots and insurrections would be guilty of a crime against the laboring class, especially in view of the perfection of modern instruments of murder and the helpless condition of the workers. An appeal to arms (especially without having any arms) is more than foolish. And he must surely be suffering from hardening or softening of the brain who expects a readjustment of our present conditions from the "propaganda of the deed," that is, from bombs and terrorism.

We are most decidedly in favor of the ballot and a propaganda of education, and we must have a great many ballots and a great deal of education.

However, we must not forget that all nations which have revolutionized existing conditions have been combatants, that is, they have been armed.

Such was decidedly the case in the time of the reformation and during the English revolution.

In France indeed the people were poorly armed at first, till they plundered the state arsenal on the morning of July 14, 1789, and took 28,000 guns and cartridges. But in the first place, the French aristocracy was perfectly rotten and no longer capable of resistance, and secondly, the regular French troops fraternized with the people from the very beginning of the Revolution.

Moreover, history teaches us that an armed people has always been a free people. There has never been a plainer example of this than the Boers. Tyrants and usurpers therefore have always taken care to disarm the people, and the English will no doubt do the same thing in South Africa if the great "world empire" ever should succeed in subduing what is left of the 30,000 peaceable Dutch farmers—a little nation that learned how to use the shotgun. Whenever one nation or one class comes under the yoke of another, the conquered nation or conquered class is always disarmed, and rendered non-combatant.

The founders of our constitution well understood and considered all this, and therefore inserted the following clause in the constitution of the United States:

"A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."—Amendment II., Article II.

This clause was placed in the constitution expressly for the purpose of giving the people an opportunity to defend their freedom.

In the debate upon this clause it was insisted that such a right must be reserved for the people to guard them eventually against usurpers in our country.

It goes without saying, that the founders of this republic never even dreamed of such a militia as ours is today—the arming of clerks and fops to hold in check the great mass of the people for the benefit of a few money bags. In those days (1783-89) there was no more a plutocracy than a proletariat in this country. Conditions were then entirely different.

But although the fathers of our republic took such anxious pains to create a "nation in arms," yet today there is scarcely any other folk in the world (except probably the Chinese or Russians) so radically disarmed, so totally without weapons as the mass of the American workmen. In Germany and France almost every man is a soldier, almost every man is thus at one time of his life an ARMED man. This imprints a certain stamp upon the people. However severely MILITARISM should be condemned, it has at least this ONE GOOD SIDE, that besides discipline, it gives the man a certain self-confidence and teaches him the use of a gun. Neither the French nor the German government would dare to do such things as our coal barons in Pennsylvania and Illinois, or the street car magnates during strikes. On the other hand, the workingmen of Europe are much too wise and too well-disciplined to attempt street revolutions or riots.

To those who are afraid to trust the people with fire arms the example of Switzerland proves most clearly that a general arming of the people would by no means result in a "revolution." In Switzerland every citizen is a soldier and owns his own weapon and keeps it at home. The government teaches the people the use of arms for reasons of state. Although the Swiss workingmen are by no means better situated materially than their American brothers, and although the Swiss bourgeoisie sometimes carries on regular baiting against labor agitators, we hear nothing of revolutions or dangerous insurrections in Switzerland. There is a great deal less rioting in Switzerland than either in America or in Russia, where people are totally disarmed.

On the contrary, if the social question is settled in any country without spilling a drop of blood, that country will be Switzerland. And one thing is certain, Swiss owners of factories or mills would never dare to have their workmen shot down in cold blood like wild beasts, by hired constables, for such a course would probably result in a bloody revolution. When there was a general railroad strike in Switzerland in 1897 the nation simply BOUGHT THE ROADS and settled the strike. Please compare this method with the American mode of procedure during the Debs strike in 1894.

There can be no question about it—the general disarming of the people has contributed very considerably to their enslavement. We are obliged to fear our "government" far more than the Montenegrins, Arabs and other half-barbarous races fear theirs. And yet, in accordance with progress, our higher civilization, our higher culture, ought to make us only so much the freer.

Our ruling class indeed knows better how to value the advantage of arms. Not only are barracks erected in the neighborhood of all the large cities, not only is the militia limited to a comparatively few regiments, recruited from the "better" class, instead of arming all the people as in Switzerland—but even in church and school the middle class and their children are taught to hate and abhor the so-called "dangerous classes."

This is called teaching "patriotism."

And although certain capitalistic papers tell us every day that there are no "classes" in the United States, but only American citizens; the text-book of the Constitution by A. D. Wright, which is used in the public schools of Milwaukee, says the following on page 267:

"We are fortunate in being protected by the ocean from foreign foes, but there is danger of civil wars, and of mob violence from the DANGEROUS CLASSES of our population, and for these contingencies we need an efficient militia system, such as we have not now."

So in this book the existence of dangerous classes of the population, threatening civil war and mob rule, is officially taught the children as instruction in a text-book on constitution, and in a country where the ballot is supposed to be almighty and the vote of the DANGEROUS CLASSES is theoretically supposed to have the power to change the constitution and the militia and everything else at any time, if composing the majority, which it undoubtedly does.

What are really the dangerous classes, the following dispatch from the coke region, which we clipped during the strike period in 1895, further explains:

"In expectation of an outbreak (in consequence of the importation of new hands) all the manufacturers are making preparations. Twenty-five horses arrived yesterday for W. J. Rainey, and tomorrow he will have as many men in the saddle. He has also a machine-gun which can shoot over 1000 shots a minute, and is accompanied by cavalry. With his mounted police he can reach any one of his works from Moyer in less than one hour. Yesterday evening he received a carload of able-bodied men in Moyer."

Of course these able-bodied and well-armed men were sworn in as deputy sheriffs in a body, so that they were officers of justice.

The working people of America, on the other hand, are at present even more defenseless than were the Helots compared with the Spartans in ancient Lacedemon. Our young lords in Pennsylvania and Illinois are at liberty to arrange slave-hunts now and then just like the young lords of old in Sparta.

How this defenseless condition may be remedied at least partially (in our humble opinion) we will discuss in our concluding article.

The House of Representatives of the Fifty-seventh Congress is now composed of 357 members and four delegates from the territories. Of the members 197 are Republicans, 152 Democrats and 8 are classified as either Fusionists or Silverites. They will caucus with the Democrats, however, and when there is a division on party lines will vote with them, so that the Republican majority will be thirty-seven. Senator Heitfeld, the last Populist in the Senate, has also joined the Democrats for better or worse, and this marks the entire disappearance of the Populists from the Congress of the United States.

A London dispatch states that William Waldorf Astor, the American multi-millionaire who expatriated himself and became an Englishman, is still far from being received in the bosom of John Bull's family. When Battle Abbey was sold at auction on Tuesday for $1,000,000, Mr. Astor was reported to be the purchaser. He denied this, and with significant unanimity the editors expressed satisfaction that Battle Abbey had been purchased by "an Englishman."

We cannot understand this, as Astor is a very wealthy man and as thorough and vulgar a snob as the greatest of British lords. There is evidently a little of the old antagonism and hatred between Feudalism and Capitalism left even now in England—where the "nobility" has had longer and more intimate relations with the bourgeoisie than in any other country in Europe.

"The constant course of the natural law of history admits of no sudden jumps and so unpremeditated adventures," says the German Socialist writer, Karl Kautsky, very justly. Of course we understand very well that the question whether this or that person is right, whether this or that platform is correct or not, whether this or the other prophecy of the future is most likely to be realized, has no importance for the cause of Socialism, so long as a large majority of the workingmen themselves are indifferent to this movement and some of them are even unfriendly. But just for this reason we must insist on continuing to stand upon the foundation of hard facts. We should be fools if we amused ourselves with chattering over an economic confession of faith, while we let our hands lie in our laps and waited for the arrival of the millennium. The millennium will never come; for centuries men have fought, worked and suffered for it, and they will fight, work and suffer for it many centuries longer. Scientific Socialists have only to do with present actual conditions; only with these have we to reckon, precisely because we wish to transform these conditions from top to bottom.

What storekeeper dare be truthful? Read the advertisements of bogus fire, bankrupt and half-price sales. Was $5, now $1.24. The others do it, hence competition forces all of them to meet it, or get out.

Answering A Query.

Mr. Editor: You have great hopes of seeing a great deal of Socialism introduced into our general mode of life within the near future, but I believe if the workingmen are to introduce it, it's a mighty long way off yet. Look how the white and black toilers are pumping lead into each other down South. And then turn East, West or North and see the workers there cutting the liver out of each other every chance they get. Should even that fail to convince you, then take the vote for Eugene V. Debs at the last national election and figure out, if you can, when the millennium is going to appear. May be you are right when you constantly preach to vote for Socialism on every occasion, but I know that you are more right when you urge the people to prepare to be able to shoot for it. But pray, tell me, how long it will take in your opinion before the ill-feeling between the workers of this country will be overcome, and they can be got to act unitedly? J. L. B.

Emporia, Kansas, Dec. 7.

You want to know how long in our opinion it will take the workers to find out just where the shoe is pinching him? Well, in the editor's opinion—with the vast majority, that depends upon their powers of endurance. As long as the average workingman can satisfy the cravings of his stomach he does not seem to care much how the world is going on. But when the ways of the world interfere with his three meals a day he generally wants to know all about it. During so-called "good times" it is as a rule only the most intelligent and best-paid workingman who bothers his head about the future and who makes propaganda for Socialism.

Do not imagine though for a moment that the workingman is the only one who desires a change and who is interested in the cause of Socialism. The small manufacturers and employers of all kinds all over the country expect a great change in our social system in the near future and are waiting for it longingly—in spite of our so-called prosperity.

Thinking men of all classes realize that things cannot much longer continue as they are. The majority of them see themselves crowded out by trusts, combines and department stores, and they know that their days as independent successful men are numbered. As yet they are frantically engaged in trying to save themselves, and can devote but little time to the study of economic questions; but it is clear that pretty soon they will have all the time they need. Now members of this very class will become the best and brainiest support of the struggle for a new order.

It can't be otherwise.

They are educated and energetic, and all of them in a greater or less degree have enjoyed such privileges as wealth can secure. These are the men who will positively refuse to be the slaves of the plutocratic class.

The man who was born and bred a wage-slave does not find it nearly as hard to work for wages as the man who at one time or other was an independent man. He feels it most. Easy circumstances have enabled him to cultivate his taste for art, leisure, etc., and have increased his wants. Now you cannot deceive a man like that with issues like imperialism, free trade, high tariff, etc. The experience of his whole life is against it.

As to the ballot: It will not always work as slowly as now. The ballot is a very important weapon—by far the most important at present. But that may not always be so, and at any rate is a high moral principle to teach the young idea how to shoot.

Yet, after all, the proletariat, the wage workers, will have to furnish the bulk of the fighters. And while in our quick-living epoch we may press the history of a century into a decade—it will require time for further economic development of the capitalistic system as well as for the education and enlightenment of the workingmen. Then the ill-feeling among the laborers themselves will by necessity vanish. Still, the editor must decline to state a definite period when all that is going to happen. But fortunately we do not need "angels" or "angelic men" to introduce Socialistic measures and lead this system over to Socialism. On the contrary, judging from our opponents on the capitalistic side, it will be a decided advantage if our people will have quite a little of the—devil in them. There will be time enough to become "angelic" when conditions and circumstances make that kind of men and women possible, i. e., under Socialism.

English Union Brag.

At the convention of the American Federation of Labor in Scranton, Pa., Ben Tillet and Charles Chasler, fraternal delegates from the British trades unions, addressed the delegates.

Comrade Tillet, who is a famous English Socialist, spoke of the splendid work that the Miners' federation, composed of a half million men, was doing in England and Scotland. He advocated the municipalization and nationalization of all public utilities, and said that the force that is now doing more for labor than any other is the intellectual force of Socialism. He emphasized the importance of liberal contributions of money to help labor in its present struggle for better conditions, and differed with President Gompers on the question of compulsory arbitration.

Referring to the Boer war, he declared:

"If the English democracy and the Boer democracy had got together the Rhodeses and the Chamberlains and the whole lot of scoundrels like them would not have got the two countries into a war."

Tillet is right, no doubt. The trouble is only that there is not enough of an English democracy to count for anything. The great majority of the English union men do not share Tillet's views on that point, we are sorry to say.

Mr. Chasler, the other English delegate, referred to the benefits of trades unionism. He advocated old age pensions. He said that the trades unions of England had provided for the comfort and wellbeing of the toilers who, by reason of their age, were incapacitated for work. The same system ought, if possible, to be adopted here. He advocated high assessments in the unions. The best way to win a strike was for the strikers to have a good bank account.

This claptrap shows the vainglorious weakness of English trades unionism pretty clearly. Just now the London Times is printing a series of articles on "The Crisis in British Industry." In these articles the London Times is distinctly charging the trade unions with filling up London workhouses by refusing permission to elderly men to work under the regulation price laid down. Now, while this charge has clearly a capitalistic motive, still it does not look as if "the trades unions of England provided for the comfort and wellbeing of toilers who by reason of their age were incapacitated for work." Or do the English workhouses provide so splendidly "for the comfort and the wellbeing of aged toilers?" At any rate, we do not want the same system adopted here. By the way, the London Times quotes one workhouse master who also declares that the policy of the English trades unions was accountable for the large numbers of men who came into his hands. Now, we give this opinion for what it is worth, and it is not worth much. Yet the policy of the English trades unions is far from being worthy of imitation, although our union men "pure and simple" are slavishly imitating it.

According to statistics, outdoor pauperism in London is disappearing and the workhouse wards are filling up. In 1861, when there were 2,800,000 people in the metropolis, there were 58,000 outdoor paupers, against only 26,500 indoors. Now there are 4,500,000 people and only 36,700 outdoor paupers, while those indoors have increased to 62,500.

Pauperism is not nearly as bad in this country—and the English trades unions have surely no reason to brag of their great accomplishments for the wellbeing of aged toilers.

Watchdogs of the Railroads

The present "brotherhoods" are very useful to the railroad companies. They bury the dead and act watch over the living. They have officers whose pockets bulge with annual passes from their friends and co-workers, the railway managers. They are lauded by capitalist politicians, have great pull with capitalist office-holders and enjoy the distinguished consideration of the capitalist press. They are nursed and coddled by the railroads for the good they are doing—the railroads. They all have a grand (?) master (!!). A plain master would not do. He must be titled and decorated so he can be pointed out with pride by his subjects.

These "brotherhoods" claim the divine right to rule railway employes, and the companies back them up in it. A few cases in point may be cited: In 1891 the "grand" officers of said brotherhoods joined the officials of the Atlantic & Pacific Railway company in wiping the new Brotherhood of Railway employes off that system, the latter being composed of men who had grown tired of the old rule of submission and subserviency.

In 1892 the grand officers of the B. of R. T. united with the officials of the Chicago & North-Western railway in discharging over 400 switchmen, members of the old Switchmen's union, and then filling the places of the decapitated switchmen. This sweet-scented job bursted the then existing "federation" of railway employes, to the relief and delight of the railway managers. This put the B. of R. T. in great favor with the railroads and it has stood ace high with them ever since.

In the Great Northern strike the grand officers were promptly on the ground and helped President "Jim" Hill all they could to beat the strikers, but the A. R. U. was too strong for them and licked the whole combination.

What happened in the great Pullman strike is still fresh in the memory. The "grand" officers were the faithful allies of the railroads and contributed nobly to the defeat of the strikers.

In the past few days Clark of the Conductors and Morrissey of the Trainmen helped the Denver & Rio Grande to knock out its switchmen, destroy their union and make them nice and obedient to their masters. This job completed, Morrissey rushed frantically across the country to Pittsburg on his annual passes, where the rebellious switchmen had also broken out of their reservation and gone on the warpath. What Morrissey and Lee did there the press dispatches report very fully and these "grand" strike-breakers should be proud of it, and the switchmen should rise up and call them blessed.

These brotherhoods don't associate with common labor unions because the railroads don't want them to fall into bad company and jeopardize their usefulness, and P. M. Arthur, the millionaire labor leader of Euclid avenue, Cleveland, who is patron-saint of the railroad managers and patriarch of their superlative allies, the "grand masters," has often warned them of the awful consequences that would follow, not only to themselves but to the widows and orphans if they had anything to do with the common cattle of the labor movement.

These sentinels for the railroads have long been engaged in making their nests—and bedtime is coming. There is a day of reckoning, gentlemen, and no single item will be overlooked in the account.

Our Slippery Mayor.

David S. Rose, the mayor of Milwaukee, may not be and is not the greatest mayor Milwaukee ever had, but he surely is the most slippery. In fact he is at least as slippery as the greased pigs he of late is accustomed to give to the populace at bridge openings, together with speeches that have the same high standard.

Our Milwaukee preachers—by the way, a sorry lot of sticks—have had some experience in this line.

It was on Friday last week that Mayor David S. Rose met the ministers of the committee on civic righteousness of the anti-vice crusade, Revs. L. H. Keller, E. A. Cutler and Henry Colman, at his office. They said the city was run "wide open," and handed in a petition asking a number of arrests.

The mayor who had been long waiting for an opportunity to show his special constituency of gamblers, divekeepers, etc., what he was doing for them, had a stenographer ready to take down every word spoken.

Here are a few gems of the conversation:

After reading the petition Mayor Rose said:

"In this petition, signed by the ministers, you ask me to arrest and prosecute all persons keeping gambling places, stall saloons or wine rooms. What particular places have you reference to?"

Mr. Colman—There are a great many in the city.

Mayor Rose—What information have you concerning the charges made in this report—what testimony can you give first hand?

Mr. Colman—We employed an agent.

Mayor Rose—Who is the agent that furnished you with this information?

Mr. Colman—A gentleman well recommended by business men, and whom we have reason to trust.

Mayor Rose—You might be satisfied with him, I might not.

Mr. Colman—That is all true.

Mayor Rose—I want the name of the witness.

Mr. Colman—I shall not give it.

Mayor Rose—You state in that report in substance that this administration has covered up the enticement of girls into houses of prostitution, and has permitted the restraining of girls in houses of prostitution.

Mr. Cutler—That statement was not made. We did not intimate that.

Mayor Rose—Well, that we do not prosecute.

Mr. Colman—Something like that.

Mayor Rose—Will you gentlemen please tell me why you are prosecuting your crusade against some evils, and ignoring others, which you know exist just as well as I do?

Mr. Colman—Is not the stall saloon the great social evil?

Mayor Rose—No; there is something behind that.

Mr. Colman—It is the worst kind of evil.

Mayor Rose—If it existed.

Mr. Colman—There are stall saloons, or recently have been, where girls from 12 years old upward are bought for 25 to 50 cents.

Mayor Rose—Will you swear to it yourself?

Mr. Colman—I am stating what I have reason to believe—very strong reason to believe.

Mayor Rose—My policies are not based upon theories, they are based upon practical experience, either experience that I have had myself or that others have had. Now, I will tell you, gentlemen, that it is better to look an evil straight between the eyes. I do not believe in hypocrisy. There are evils that have existed since the birth of the human family. Millions of men have gone down in the attempt to eradicate those evils, but the evils survive. Now, what is best to be done? To say because you have a law upon the statute books which you may attempt to enforce, but cannot enforce, that you will attempt to do so, or treat the matter in some other way, recognize it as an evil that does exist and hold it right down where you have it by the throat every minute? You can say you are not enforcing the law. They have been trying to enforce that same law for hundreds of years, and it is practically today a dead letter on our statute books, for the reason that you cannot enforce any law unless you have public sentiment to sustain it.

Mr. Colman—Other things that I have come from officials—some of them—about the girls—

Mayor Rose—Whoever told you that is a liar.

Now we do not want to trouble our readers with more of the conversation—this sample ought to be sufficient.

But it is of the highest interest to thinking people of this city and of the country that the mayor of a large city—a man who has been seriously mentioned all over the country as a running mate for Bryan—has bluntly admitted that laws against prostitution cannot be enforced under the present system. We do not want to go into details—in fact WE KNOW that a great deal could be done against the "stall saloon" evil—according to the preachers there are 116 stall saloons in our city. And yet this city claims to be, and is proven by statistics "one of the most orderly of the large cities in the United States." Gambling and many other evils could also easily be stopped. But we do not intend to speak for the preachers and bourgeois "reformers," who are the sorriest and most insincere lot of people on earth.

But to every thinking man and woman we will say this:

It is true, under the capitalistic system this and other evils cannot be eradicated because they are INNATE in the system itself. But for that very reason we declare: Put the Social Democratic party into power and you will see this and other evils DISAPPEAR ENTIRELY at the same ratio as the sphere of Socialism and the power of Socialists grow in this country. There is only one moral to all this: Work for Socialism:

There were two applicants for a store position. One was a thief who thought, "There is no cash register, the boss looks stupid, I am sure I can tap the till $6 a week." The other was an honest man. Both had families costing $9 weekly. The thief offered to work for $5, the other wanted $9. Competition gave the $5 (plus 6 equals $11) man the job, and will starve all the honesty out of the other or kill him.

Two young women applied for work. The prospective employer winked at both, the one was employed who returned the wink. Competition condemns the other to starve until she learns to wink.

Send us ten new subscribers and receive free one of those handsome $2 razors.

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HERALDRIES.

It is practically settled that the Chinese exclusion law will be re-enacted by Congress by almost a unanimous vote of both branches.

The trust, as a method of using the machinery of production and distribution, is not the finished product of evolution, any more than the machine is. The perfection of the trust will come only with Socialism.

In the competitive system 10 per cent. of those who attempt business succeed; 40 per cent. vegetate and 50 per cent. fail absolutely. How much "incentive" can be extracted from these figures we leave for others to decide.

Mark Hanna calling upon the working class for aid in his ship subsidy scheme of plunder is a spectacle to make all the gods laugh. But the dull and featherheaded workingmen in some industries look upon Hanna's scheme with perfect sobriety—and gullibility.

Socialism would remove the evil existent in society by removing the cause. It would sweeten the stream at which society is drinking by purifying the fountain, rather than by spasmodic and inadequate attempts to filter the water along the current.

The $400,000,000 Northern Securities company will side-step the difficulties that Gov. Van Sant is putting up against it by making its home office in Jersey City and doing business on the basis of a citizen of New Jersey. It's a dismal day, indeed, when a governor gets ahead of a corporation.

Roosevelt's message is a disappointment to the radicals and reformers who have regarded him as one of themselves, because of his "record." To Socialists it is nothing but a capitalistic document. If ever there was a time when Roosevelt saw things with other than capitalistic eyes, it is not now. O no, Socialists are not a bit surprised.

Although Georgia has a larger negro population than any other state in the Union, a bill looking toward negro disfranchisement has just been overwhelmingly defeated in the lower house of the state Legislature, receiving only 17 votes out of a membership of 175. A similar measure failed two years ago.

The court painter of St. Petersburg has been engaged to make a portrait of His Majesty Theodore I. of the United States. If there are a few more court habits that can be conveniently engrafted upon our simple republican institutions they will no doubt find encouragement under Theodore's administration.

When nature lets loose an inventor whose discoveries brush aside old ways of doing things and institutes new ways, notice is always served on the existing industrial order that it is doomed. Mechanics compel progress and necessitate Socialism. The welfare of mankind pivots on mechanics.

A workingman who served an apprenticeship to learn a trade and after working at it for twenty years finds a machine of iron and steel, operated by a boy or a girl at 60 cents a day, doing the work he learned to do and doing it better, ought to have some ideas on the labor question.

The fact that the busy bees in the hives of industry are discovering, through the Socialist propaganda, that the more industrious they are the more honey they are making for the owners of the hive, inevitably forces the capitalist class to resort to intimidation and class-conscious action to keep the industrial bees in ignorance and subjection.

In an address on "True Democracy" to the Graduates' club at Harvard Dr. Lyman Abbott said he inclined to the opinion that the United States should buy up all the big trusts and operate them for the benefit of the people. Dr. Abbott is a good deal of a wabbler, but it was quite impossible for him to conceive of a "true democracy" without providing for the social management of industry.

The suppression of Socialist papers will not stop Socialism; it will not stop the propaganda. There will be found as much ingenuity among American Socialists to advance their cause as has been elsewhere demonstrated. The growth of Socialist sentiment and development of economic conditions essential to its triumph is an irresistible movement against which the powers of a capitalist-controlled postoffice cannot prevail.

Ten schools in Armstrong county, Pa., have been closed. The teachers have pocketed the keys of the little red schoolhouses and vigorously declare that the tree of knowledge shall no longer bear fruit in their several communities until the little matter of equalization of wages has been satisfactorily settled by the school board. The munificent sum of $30 a month is the standard allowed for the services of persons experienced as pedagogues.

The annual report of the Mergenthaler Linotype company for the year ended October 1 shows that the net profit from the year's business was $2,083,032, as against $1,919,165 in the previous year, and $1,627,000 in 1899. There were on rental at the close of the year 986 machines, against 1058 the previous year, the rental value being $585,333, as against $567,645 in the preceding year. The factory delivered during the year 641 machines.

Representatives of the Illinois State Federation of Woman's clubs found on investigation that children employed in the cellar cigar factories of Chicago worked from 7 a. m. to 7 p. m. and could make with hard work 50 cents a day. Many of the children were from 11 to 12 years of age. The odor from the paste used in making cigars was so sickening that the women rushed out into the open air for relief. "Long may our land be bright with freedom's holy light; protect us by thy might, great God, our King!"

In Chicago a movement has been started to provide a home in the country for city boys who have no home. At one of the meetings held for this purpose one of the speakers was a national bank president. He said he was "puzzled to understand why it was that we had waited till the Twentieth century before thinking of our duty to the boys." How very good that sounds! If the marvelous mechanical progress of the Nineteenth century had been marked by justice to the fathers of these boys and duty to society at large, there would be no need for the predicament in which national bank operators and other parasites now find themselves.

As fast as steam can carry them, Mr. and Mrs. Leonard Wainwright and their big white cat are traveling to Florida for the winter, as Tom, the cat, has symptoms of tuberculosis, and the cat doctor says he must have a change of climate. It required two weeks of pleading with the railroad and transportation companies, intermingled with tears, persuasions and threats, to secure comfortable accommodations for Tom.

Couple the foregoing item with the fact that at one time recently in a New York park 1500 homeless men were found sleeping on the ground, and you get a good idea of the relative position of men and tom-cats in a society based on robbery of labor.

In a recent decision Chief Justice Gummere of the Supreme court of New Jersey enunciated the following capitalist doctrine:

"The life of a child of 5 is worth to its parents from 6 cents to $1.

"The death of a laboring man making $1.50 a day is not worth as much as the death of a millionaire.

"The pecuniary value of a child is not fixed by law. As a general rule it is merely nominal.

"The law does not consider sentiment. It is purely a matter of money."

So far as we know this is the lowest quotation the market has ever shown on the life of a human being. "The pecuniary value of a child is not fixed by law!" No; neither is it fixed by religion. The economic system decides that point.

We have before us an exact copy of the employment contract used by the packing firm of Swift & Co., Chicago. In it we find that this "contract," when signed by a wage slave, is "to continue as long as satisfactory to said party of the first part"—that is, to Swift & Co. It further provides that "as a guaranty for the faithful performance of this agreement" Swift & Co. shall retain an amount agreed upon (but fixed by Swift & Co.) as "liquidated damages" to satisfy any damages the party of the first part may sustain. This sort of thing is called "freedom of contract." All the terms are fixed by the "party of the first part," and the only part in the business the "party of the second part" has is to submit or starve. Yet it is "freedom of contract" and serves to quiet the conscience of Christian capitalists.

Last year the municipality of Berlin derived a profit of more than $3,000,000 from the city gas works, which represent an investment of about $15,000,000. Much of the profit came from such by-products as coke, tar, ammonia—in fact it may be said that the entire expense of maintaining the gas works was paid from the manufacture and sale of these articles, so that the direct receipts from gas were almost clear gain. But the Germans manage such institutions much more economically than can be done in the United States. They have an odd notion that it is the duty of every citizen to protect the public treasury, and the city government can buy supplies and obtain labor at a cost much less than would be required of private corporations. Unfortunately with us the conditions are reversed. The best of us think it is our duty to get ahead of the government if we can.

"I have noticed," said the Observant Foreigner, who was not writing a book about America, "that according to your newspapers, your best citizens are always to be found in large numbers at just three places."

"Where?" we asked, being mildly curious.

"At political rallies, prize fights and lynching bees."—Baltimore American.

A Case of Champagne.

The proceedings of the postoffice department against certain publications and their exclusion from the privilege of second-class rates have, as their professed object, the cutting down of the deficit and more economical administration of the department. Notwithstanding the attitude of the postal authorities, it is probably true that persons in the direct employment of the government are responsible for greater abuses of the postoffice privileges than are the publishers of the country. One single example illustrates the character of these abuses: Senator Mason of Illinois delivered a speech last session in the Senate upon his pure food investigation, in which he made an assertion that appealed to a champagne firm as excellent advertising. The firm is sending out thousands of copies of this speech under Senator Mason's frank. When asked whether he had authorized the use of his frank for this purpose Mr. Mason stated that he had. Mr. Mason explained that the firm had informed him that it desired to send broadcast a large number of copies of the speech for the advertising it contained, and asked him to save them postage.

To "save" this firm "postage" Senator Mason did not hesitate to send out with his frank "thousands of copies" of the speech for "advertising" purposes. What was the senator's incentive? Was it a few cases of champagne deposited in the cellar of his Chicago home? Perish the thought! Mason is a Republican and a patriot.

Roosevelt's Ruse.

"It is not true that as the rich have grown richer the poor have grown poorer," says Roosevelt in his contradictory message to the capitalist world. But it is an ascertained and irrefutable truth that never before in the history of the country has the distribution of wealth been more inequitable than now. The working class, in proportion to their productive capacity in alliance with the modern facilities of production, never received so little as now and the rich never received so much. Labor in the United States at this moment is receiving less of the fruits of its toil than ever before. But to have said this would have been to place Roosevelt outside the ranks of the conservative, and this he knew. Why did not the President take governmental statistics for his guidance on this question? Can he explain how the workers' share in the product can constantly diminish, as it has since 1850, and the share of the rich as steadily increase, as government reports clearly show, and still the working class not be relatively poorer? Can he do it? No. An attempt on his part in "a message to the people" would at once classify him as a dangerous man—to the capitalist class.

A comparative study of the statistics of this country will show how great labor's share in the product has been and what it now is. Although the amount of wealth is constantly increasing, as will be seen from the following, taken from the statistics compiled by the government, it will also be seen how rapidly labor's share is decreasing:

In 1850 the wealth of the nation was $8,000,000,000. The producers' share was 62½ per cent; non-producers' share 37½ per cent.

In 1860 the wealth increased to $16,000,000,000. The producers' share fell to 43¾ per cent.; non-producers' increased to 56¼ per cent.

In 1870 the wealth was $30,000,000,000. Producers' share was 32 2-3 per cent.; non-producers' share 67 1-3 per cent.

In 1880 the wealth increased to $48,000,000,000. The producers' share went down to 24 per cent., while the non-producers' share increased to 76 per cent.

In 1890 the wealth was further increased to $61,000,000,000. The producers' share fell to 17 per cent.; the non-producers' share increased to 83 per cent.

The greater the amount of wealth production increased, the greater was also the corresponding decrease of the producers' share in that wealth.

Wars of Extermination.

As Christmas time approaches and the so-called Christian nations prepare to celebrate the birth of a man whose religion none of them exemplify, it is not inappropriate to turn for a moment to what is going on under the name of Christian civilization in South Africa.

This coming Christmas is the first in the Twentieth century. It witnesses the leading professed Christian nation of the world, whose ruler is known officially as "Defender of the Faith," in an outrageously unjust war with a small republic—also Christian in name—the horrors of which fix an ineffaceable stain of infamy upon the Christian power which is responsible for it.

Begun in the dreams of conscienceless capitalists of conquest and the appropriation of natural resources held by the Boers in the Transvaal and South African republics, it has become a war for the extermination of one of the bravest peoples the world has ever seen.

The indomitable courage of the Boers, born of the bitter knowledge that against tremendous odds they were fighting for their firesides, has been at once a revelation and inspiration to an admiring world.

When this Christian-capitalist war began the Boers had scarcely 40,000 arms-bearing men in the field. England has found it necessary during the entire period of the war on the two republics to increase the number of red-coated cutthroats in the field, until today an army of not less than 240,000 men is employed against a few straggling remnants of the bravest body of citizen-soldiers whose deeds will be recorded in the annals of time. England has been drained of the flower of her manhood, thousands of millions of money expended and her power in the world permanently weakened in a contest where all the advantages of resources and men were on her side.

But it is not so much the actual warfare that forever fixes upon England the stigma of shame as the methods that Christian nation has adopted to exterminate women and children. The death rate in Boer refugee camps during four months of 1901, based upon information officially given out in London, were as follows:

June	100 per 1000 per annum
July	200 per 1000 per annum
August	210 per 1000 per annum
September	264 per 1000 per annum
Number of noncombatants in refugee camps	100,000

An eye-witness thus describes the awful conditions prevailing:

"This camp system is a wholesale cruelty and the memory of it can never be wiped out. It presses hardest on the children. They droop in the terrible heat and fall ill because of the insufficient and unsuitable food. Thousands physically unfit are placed in conditions of life that they have not the strength to endure. In many cases, too, their misery is increased by the separation of families and the impossibility of communication. There are cases where mothers have been separated from young children by their being sent to different camps probably a hundred miles apart. To continue the present system is to murder helpless women and children, but if aid can reach them in the form of medicine and clothing an incalculable amount of good can be accomplished. During the last few months efforts have been made to improve the camps, but the difficulties of transport, scarcity of supplies and tents and the limited means appropriated for the purpose have tied the hands of those in authority. Another bar to advancement has been the interlacing of civil and military authority and the unfitness of most military men for positions which involve the ordering of the lives of women and children."

Such are some of the fruits of a war which is defended by the statesmen, the bishops, the aristocracy and the ruling class generally of Christian England, a war which has been opposed from the beginning by no organized body of men in England except the Socialists. It is not civilized warfare the British are conducting in South Africa; it is extermination.

Equally dominated by the capitalist spirit of aggrandizement, however, and prepared in the interest of the capitalist world-exploiters to go equally as far as Great Britain, the United States is engaged in the same Christian business in Samar. The very policy which this government went to war to abolish in Cuba is being adopted in dealing with those on whom it is sought to confer the benefits of a Christian civilization.

Thus, on this first Christmas in the Twentieth century we have the spectacle of the two leading capitalist nations of the world—also claimed to be the two leading Christian nations—engaged in wars of extermination, shameful in their excuses and sure to be staggering in their final results, even to the conquerors.

Bebel in Debate.

The debate on the tariff in the German Reichstag has aroused almost universal interest and it is widely recognized that August Bebel, the Social Democratic leader, contributed to it an argument of the broadest and most statesmanlike qualities. The reports say Bebel "spoke to the breathless galleries. He often provoked his opponents, but sometimes he even enthralled them. The man seemed to grow bodily as he warmed up to his work." He said there were two nations in the German state, the plunderers and the plundered. "The imperial chancellor spoke of the former; I am speaking of the latter. Fifteen per cent. of the German people are engaged in agriculture. The chancellor said the remaining 85 per cent. were engaged in other occupations, and that 72 per cent. of these latter were industrials. The proposition of the government was to lay a tax of between 600,000,000 and 700,000,000 marks on food in order to make more profitable the occupation of 15 per cent. of the people. Only one-ninth of the grain is imported.

"Agriculture in Germany might be called prosperous. The late Dr. Von Miquel, former minister of finance, in an official declaration three years ago said German agriculture was prosperous. The Prussian crown knows it is prosperous, because it is now investing 3,000,000 marks in new agricultural holdings. The reduction of farm mortgage foreclosures of recent years showed that agriculture was better off than previously and the value of lands has increased during the last century.

"This bill is intended not for the betterment of the farm laborer, but for the betterment of the landlord. If any landlord is not getting on well now, it is because of large hunting parties, gambling, well-filled wine cellars, sons in crack cavalry regiments, and town houses in Berlin."

At this point of Herr Bebel's speech Graf Von Kardorff, one of the greatest land magnates, laughed jeeringly.

"Yes," continued Herr Bebel. "That is the way with you fellows. You lay taxes upon the poor, and when it is proved to you that they are unnecessary you laugh. But the world's history rolls on over you regardlessly."

The Message.

The great 20,700 worded message hath appeared. We cannot praise it sufficiently, for it is a concentration of many minds. Its breath smells strong of capitalism. That was to be expected. Imagine for a moment the strenuous convulsion that would have seized upon the crowd of idle loafers who kill thought, if the message had savored strong of divine Socialism.

Let us explain the meaning of the word capitalism in all its fullness. In place of the word anarchy which people are told "is the sum of all villainies" let us meekly substitute the word capitalism and see how palatable it tastes. An injury to one is an injury to all. Grand discovery. Presidential attacks are most assuredly an injury to all of us when furiously considered. Capitalism ought to be stamped out and its preachers punished like other malefactors. The United States capitalist is merely one type of criminal more dangerous than any other. Reasons to prove above statement are infinite. He robs the mobs of the fruits of their labor in a perfectly legal manner so they are nonplussed and completely flabbergasted. Having accomplished that most difficult feat the capitalist has scaled the heights where he may shine before men as a philanthropist. He's a bully fellow. Impudent charity becomes a dire necessity, the crying evil of the hour. And why not?

Capitalism has robbed the masses of their intelligent independence as well as of their ducats. Enormous charitable institutions springing up like mushrooms in every city is ample proof of the skillful extortion and barefaced robbery by capitalism. Very laudable amends we admit for long established, long practiced cruelty. Christianity desires to absorb all the praise for what eleemosynary work there has been done up to date.

Very well, we won't object now to that form of self-praise, but how about the moral delinquency which necessitates such overwhelming charity. If honest men got their dues the burden of charity would be as light as a feather. The capitalists as a general rule are very noble ecclesiastics. They ought to turn over a new leaf and refrain from their conspiracy against the masses. Let them remember an injury to all is an injury to everyone.

An attack on the masses is most assuredly an injury to all of us. The capitalist is not a victim of social or political injustice. He is a victor whose perverted instincts lead him to risk confusion and chaos rather than defeat. Common sense and observation go to prove the truth of our insinuation. He is the deadly foe to liberty, for publicity sounds the death knell of capitalism which is a crime against the whole human race.

'Tis true, 'tis pity; 'tis pity, 'tis true, and all presidents should band themselves against capitalism. A grim commentary upon the folly of the capitalist's position is afforded by the presence of the troops in Africa and the Philippines, where the laws of nature are defied and the people are torn limb from limb by rifle and cannon.

No greater friend to disorder can be found than the capitalist, since it is by disorder that he attains an opulence that breeds envy and sullen hatred. Those men and women who apologize and preach the doctrine of capitalism (whatever it my be) cannot escape their share of responsibility for the whirlwind that is reaped.

The American people, being all kinds, are slow to wrath, but when they discover the outrageous robbery committed by the perverted instincts of capitalism, their wrath will burn like a consuming flame.

The capitalistic prayer for a thousand years hath been "blessed be the innocent ignorance of the masses which saveth us from the consuming flame today and also for another thousand years yet to come."

GENTLE EXPOSITOR.

Environment and Not Heredity is to Blame.

Judge Tuthill of the Juvenile court of Chicago is convinced that the most harmful thing to the human race is the theory of heredity.

"Nothing with which I am familiar has a more vicious tendency," he says, "than the teaching that because a child had drunken parents he should become a drunkard in spite of himself. All teachings of nature are opposed to this theory. Nature is working reformation, not destruction! You see a twig bent out of its natural course. What does nature do but try to straighten it. I have a wound here on my finger. Nature is busy trying to heal the sore. It is the same law that governs through all life. There are idiots born of parents who seem almost perfection; on the other hand, some of the wisest men who have ever lived were the offspring of not only weak but vicious parents.

"I do not believe a child gets its character back of the environment of its formative period after it has come into the world. A few years ago physicians taught us that consumptive parents were sure to produce consumptive children, but science has demonstrated beyond a doubt that consumption is a contagious disease and is not transmitable to progeny.

"The tragedy of the world has come through this teaching of heredity. A boy hears that his father or his grandfather drank liquor to excess and that he has inherited an appetite for liquor that he is powerless to withstand. This idea becomes fastened in his mind and if he escapes being a drunkard it is a miracle. The cause of his destruction is not due to an inherited appetite for strong drink, but to the inherited belief that he has. There is heredity of ideas, because these are kept alive by transmission through others. But I do not believe in the transmission of appetites or evil tendencies. If this were true the theory of evolution would be a farce, for if evil or savage tendencies were transmitable then there could have been no emerging from the savage state, but each successive generation would have been more savage than its predecessor.

"The home must be in the country. All human beings are naturally pastoral and delight in nature. If these children brought before this court can be sent away to a farm, where they will have the companionship of birds and beasts, where they can learn the laws of growth and development as taught by Nature herself, there is a good chance for every one of them to succeed. The country is the place to rear children. Even the wealthiest and most refined of our people find it hard to rear children in the city without contagion.

"The most successful business men in Chicago today were born and reared in the country. They come to the city, built strong from the foundation. They have felt the hail in their faces and know the exquisite delight of facing a blizzard and overcoming it. They don't weaken when stocks go down or panics come, but shoulder the financial storm as they shouldered the tempest in the days of their youth.

"They win oftener than the city-bred man, because they have a broader knowledge, a better understanding of the relation of things. It is well for the city that it can draw on the country for this needed force. It would be well for the country if more city-bred boys went to the farms. Whenever they do so they bring new life to the work, new ideas to cultivation and are generally more successful than farmers who have not had a city experience. If those who believe in Christ and Confucius, as well as those who would follow the teachings of all the prophets of brotherhood, would only feel that all men are their brothers, instead of being satisfied with the idea that a simple profession saved them from whatever evil might be awaiting sinners in the world to come there would be many better homes."

Constructive Socialism

...By... Isador Ladoff.

Scratch a middle-class reformer and you will find a retrograde. For instance, the ideals and aspirations of single taxers are borrowed from archaic communes, where land possesses no value and belongs to nobody in particular except the beasts of the field and forest. The direct-legislation reformers dream about a primitive township, where every citizen has his say, be it wise or otherwise. The greenbackers and free silverites (most of the last are greenbackers at heart and embraced the silver fetishism instead of the paper idolatry as a kind of a substitute) sigh for a past when money had no intrinsic value whatever. The trust and monopoly smasher would fain turn the tide of industrial and commercial development backward to ye olden times, when sweet competition reigned supreme.

All middle-class reformers are looking backward, for the middle class itself reached the age of decline and disintegration when the impaired vitality manifests itself in the atrophy of creative powers. Socialists alone, as the advance agents of a new stage of culture and civilization, are looking forward; they alone are in perfect harmony with the evolution of industry; they alone let the dead bury the dead and the living live. All the ideals and aspirations of Socialists are in the future.

Emotional Socialism gave birth to critical Socialism. Human society in general and its past and present economic fabric in particular was subjected by Rodbertus, Marx, Lassalle and Engels to a keen and searching examination in the light of reason and ethics. This examination demonstrated the laws ruling social economic relations and their manifestations under various conditions of national life. It revealed the formerly hidden forces of social mechanics and explained their nature, mutual relations, causes and effect. The time is at present ripening for conservative Socialism to start its creative era. The organic and unconscious evolution of human society, in the history of the past and in our own days, will be replaced by CONSCIOUS ENDEAVOR TO ORGANIZE HUMAN HAPPINESS ON EARTH. Constructive Socialism will emancipate mankind from its own creation, material wealth, and make the last subservient to the first.

How will constructive Socialism accomplish its task? Before we attempt to answer this question, let us consider what human society is. It is the most complex organization known, the highest product of organic evolution on earth. Its functions are, therefore, very complicated in their nature. The propagation of the race, the bringing up of children, the economic activities and administration of public affairs in general, scientific and artistic pursuits and many other problems will demand the attention of constructive Socialism. The very vastness and complexity of the gigantic task of building up a new era of culture and civilization precludes the possibility of an even approximately exact prediction of the modus operandi of constructive Socialism in detail. It will suffice to point out here a few of the leading principles of the work.

The first question (how constructive Socialism will accomplish its task?) includes the two possibilities—the way of peaceful evolution and of violent political upheaval, popularly called revolution. Thoughtful students of history discarded the idea that social economic changes are due to political revolutions as unscientific, just as naturalists rejected the theory of cataclysms in geology. Political upheavals or revolutions, on careful investigation, prove to be only climaxes of a slow social economic change that preceded them. So was the great French revolution one of the consequences and symptoms of the downfall of the feudal "ancient regime," its most tragic and spectacular phenomenon, but not its cause. A flame is one of the phenomena of oxidation, its consequence, not its cause. Only a few oxidations are manifested by the appearance of light or appreciable quantities of heat. The process of breathing by animals and the decay of organic matter, for instance, are nothing else but oxidation, but without any appearance of a flame. So-called Revolutions are not essential to social economic changes and cannot cause them.

Violent social upheavals are wasteful, as far as human life and wealth are concerned, and usually lead to reaction and tyranny. Socialist thinkers are therefore anxious to avoid them as far as possible. This, however, does not insure against violent revolutions taking place before the inauguration of the era of peace and economic democracy, on account of the ignorance of the masses and the unwillingness of the privileged classes to submit voluntarily to the inevitable trend of events. If such a revolution or such revolutions shall occur, they will only hurt, even if temporarily only, the cause of Socialism, which is the cause of "peace on earth and good will to men."

Those old-time Socialists who persist in calling themselves "revolutionary" point with pride to their faithfulness, to so-called revolutionary traditions of Socialism, indulge in obsolete jacobinic slang and display with ostentation their paper clap-trap on every possible occasion to friend and foe—are more amusing than dangerous. It is true, that modern Socialism in its early stage was not entirely free from jacobinic jingoism and that Marx himself was inclined to overestimate the significance of political upheavals. It is true that Bebel in his young days believed in the inevitable "general Kladderadatsch," or chaotic collapse of the present civilization, on the ruins of which the Socialistic commonwealth will be erected. The European Socialists, however, have long ago outgrown this infantile disease of middle-class revolution, while our American orthodox Socialists cherish their spiritual mumps with an exultation deserving a better object.

It seems apparent to all unbiased, clear-sighted men in the movement abroad and here, that constructive Socialism will have to start its work not on the ruins of the present civilization but in its very midst, clearing the ground as far as conditions warrant it, utilizing carefully the material at hand and prudently taking into consideration the surrounding conditions. In other words, constructive Socialism will have to pursue a policy of adaptation and compromise. "Why! This is nothing else but opportunism you preach!" We anticipate our friends' objection. Well! Why is opportunism bad? Because its motives are of a doubtful kind, not because it pursues a policy of compromises. What is a compromise? If two or more forces act on one point in the space, but in various directions, the resulting force will act in neither of the directions of the components, but in a direction forming a compromise between them. This is a law of mechanics in general. The same is true in respect to social mechanics. Social institutions are results of action, counteraction, reaction and co-operation of social forces—consequently nothing else but compromises by their very nature. There was not a single event, not a single act, not a single phenomenon in history, that was not a resultant of many social forces, a compromise. The adherents of the doctrine "no compromise" are doomed to sterility as far as constructive socialistic work is concerned. A building erected or a machine built without any consideration of the laws of mechanics, nay, even in direct violation of these laws, would hardly serve any purpose except that of demonstrating the irrationality of the man who undertook to do it. A Socialist refusing to recognize the necessity of compromise in constructive social work is not a man of clear thought and rational action, as builder of a new stage of civilization.

In order to be consistent the scientific Socialists ought to reject political action in general and join hands with the philosophical anarchists. What a touching alliance between science and philosophy that would be!

What Under Socialism will be the Incentive to Exertion?

Herman Whitaker in the Arena.

The answer to the question—what under Socialism will be the incentive to exertion?—takes on a threefold aspect. It may be stated as follows: (1) The problem to be solved is not a question of biology, but one of economics—that, whether or not opposed to the laws of life, the evolution of society is driving us to collectivism. It may be that, even as all other civilizations have contained within themselves the seeds of their own dissolution, so this apparent antagonism between the constitution of our society and the laws of life may likewise end in its disintegration. But, be this as it may, to collectivism we must go. (2) The examination of many industries conducted by the governments of different countries proves conclusively that the quality of work turned out by them is fully equal, if not superior, to the same class of work turned out by private firms. (3) The fear of dismissal and the hope of reward are the incentives that move to action the lower classes under existing society. The same incentives spur to industry those in government employ, and there is no reason to suppose the same incentives would not obtain under Socialism.

The proper treatment of the first division of the threefold answer would require a critical exposition of the evolutionary forces that are causing the centralization of capital and industry. It would be necessary to inquire into the social effect of machinery to find out the limits beyond which the expansion of industry cannot go; and to speculate on the disastrous effects that are likely to follow the development of the Orient. To do this properly would require the writing of a voluminous book. We shall therefore have to be content with a general statement of the probabilities of the future.

The constantly increasing productivity of our national industries requires an ever-increasing foreign market, and each year adds to the enormous bulk of our exports to other countries. The consuming power of the home market is determined by the decreasing wage of the industrial classes, and by the lessening purchasing power of the American farmer. There is thus a steady increase in the surplus commodities available for export. This being the case, we are justified in asking the question, what shall we do when our merchants and mechanics have to compete in the world with the cheap labor of China and Japan? Large amounts of capital are seeking investment abroad, the nature of the capitalistic system of production and distribution—its aim and object—being the production of surplus value. The constant lowering of the rate of interest in civilized countries, forces the surplus capital to seek investment elsewhere. The spectacle of the scramble for the shares of the Lipton Tea company, which were subscribed for three times over, and other like cases, show conclusively that capitalists are everywhere struggling for profitable investments. China—with its vast resources, its variety of climate, its splendid system of navigable rivers, and its hordes of cheap laborers—is standing on the threshold of a new era. There the unused millions of Europe and America will find ready investment. The great commercial nations are already taking the first steps to let loose an industrial scourge upon the earth.

And what is to become of the American farmer when the introduction of the automobile completes the work of the trolley car and destroys the market for horses? What will become of the commercial traveler and the superfluous mechanic when the centralization of industry in the hands of the trusts does away with all unnecessary labor? There is but one answer: These economic conditions will compel society eventually to undertake the orderly arrangement of its business—to balance its production and distribution, it will be forced into socialism, biological objections to the contrary notwithstanding.

The second and third divisions of the answer may well be treated together. An appeal to known facts will certainly be conceded the best answer that can be given to any question. Let us see, therefore, what light experiments in collectivism will throw upon the problem. The English navy is certainly the finest in the world; yet almost all its vessels have been entirely constructed in the government yards. Each ship, from keelson to royal truck, has been built by men in the service of the government. Each gun, from the one hundred and ten tonner at Chatham to the small arm carried by the marines, is manufactured in the great arsenal at Woolwich or in the government factory at Enfield. The clothing of both soldiers and sailors is made in the government shops at Pimlico, and the bread they eat is baked in government ovens. Here, then, is an experiment in collectivism conducted upon a very large scale. What light does it throw on the question at issue? An inspection of the dockyards, foundries, factories, stores and bakeries owned and operated by the British government reveals an army of artisans and laborers at work, successfully conducting the many operations necessary to the outfitting and maintenance of hundreds of thousands of men. The skill and efficiency they display and the quality of the work they turn out are fully equal, if not superior, to that produced in the yards of Armstrong at Keswick, or Carnegie at Homestead. The ammunition boots, for instance, supplied to Thomas Atkins at $2.50 a pair cannot be duplicated in private life for twice the money; and the clothes served to him by a paternal government at $4.75 a suit are as strong and serviceable as they are cheap. Indeed, a habit of selling his necessaries to envious civilians occasionally gets Mr. Atkins into trouble with the authorities, and at the same time pays a high tribute to the quality of his belongings.

Many illustrations of the like kind can be accumulated from all civilized nations. The German telephone system gives the best and cheapest service in the world. The postal systems of all countries may be cited as proofs of the practicability of collectivism. Great Britain owns her telegraph and express systems, and almost all countries operate their police and fire departments. The function of education has passed from the hands of the private teacher; and, if any further proof were needed, surely the successful application of the principle of the municipal ownership of public utilities would satisfy the most inveterate doubter.

Here, then, in different countries are some millions of persons in the service of their respective governments. They are ordinary, common people, subject to the same passions, virtues, and vices as the remaining members of society. They have also the habit of choosing lesser proximate happiness to greater future happiness, which distinguishes the large majority of their fellow-creatures. What, then, is the "incentive to exertion" that keeps them at work? What is it that makes Tommy Atkins accomplish forced marches in the heat of the Soudan, and causes his American brother to chase the elusive Filipino through fever swamps? Whence comes the rapid stride of the postman? Why does the fireman plunge into the flame and smoke of the burning building, and the policeman risk his life in the protection of the lives and property of others? Wherefore flies the pen of the government clerk over his paper? And why do the "builders of the ship"—the sawyers and the carpenters, the riveters and the boiler-makers, the machinist and the foundrymen and the blacksmiths—one and all, from the highest to the lowest, ply their vocations with such industry? Why? Because all are animated by the same incentive—the hope of reward, the desire of promotion, the fear of dismissal. It is, as John Stuart Mill remarked, "very much a question of education; a man may be taught to dig and weave for his country even as he has been taught to fight for it." And there is absolutely no reason why these incentives, which now move to exertion the people engaged in private and public enterprises, should not continue to do so in a collectivist society. Given a strong central authority, willing and able to enforce the laws, an authority that would have behind it all the force of public opinion, it seems reasonable to suppose that idle persons could be more effectively dealt with than under existing conditions. They might choose between work and starvation; there could be no other alternative.

There remains but one other point to be touched upon. If it be granted, that, with a strong central authority established, the usual incentives that move to action coarser natures will obtain, have we any surety that higher forms of human endeavor will continue? Will the ripe fruits of intellect still adorn the gardens of an aesthetic civilization? What incentive will cause a man to undertake, for instance, the immense labors necessary to achieve literary perfection? Is it probable that a man that could satisfy his immediate wants by a little bodily labor would be likely to undertake such arduous toil?

An analysis of the ambition that causes men to undertake such tasks will disclose the fact that it is a complex feeling, made up of many components. Probably the chief of these is the love of approbation—the desire to stand well in the eye of one's fellows. Again, deep down in the heart of man is to be found the desire to leave some little mark upon the sands of time. The thought of annihilation, without even a fleeting remembrance remaining of his life and labors, is utterly repulsive. Wherefore it is that we find him undertaking all kinds of laborious tasks to perpetuate his memory. The pyramids of Egypt, built in the dawn of history to hand down forever the fame of some now forgotten monarch, are striking evidences of the strength of this feeling. The shepherd who burnt the temple of Diana chose infamy before oblivion, and throughout the ages are scattered countless evidences of the desire of man to leave his mark; yea, in our own time, mediocrity strives to perpetuate its memory by the erection of million-dollar tombs.

The love of power is yet another component of ambition. The centurion in the Scriptures said: "Lord, thou knowest I am a man in authority. I say unto this man, go and he goeth; unto that man come, and he cometh." And as it was with the centurion, so it is with all men—they love to sit in high places. The desire for knowledge must also be added to other feelings. Men have suffered torture, imprisonment and even death at the stake in defense of the knowledge they thought right. The figure of Bruno stands forth from the black night of ignorance that settled down over medieval Europe, a striking instance of the power of knowledge to move men to noble action. Haled before the inquisition he is informed that he has been guilty of heresy and is asked to recant. There are no witnesses, no accusers—none but the familiars of the holy office moving stealthily about him. The tormentors are in the vaults below. With none to sustain him, he cannot and will not deny that which he knows to be true. He is handed over to the civil authorities and burned at the stake. Galileo, imprisoned, and for the last ten years of his life treated with remorseless severity, for persisting in saying that which even his accusers knew to be true, and Milton, the blind poet, receiving in exchange for "Paradise Lost" the miserable pittance of five pounds, are also instances of the strength of this feeling. All the varied feelings here enumerated go to make up that complex emotion called ambition—the love of approbation, the desire to be remembered, the love of power and the thirst for knowledge. It would be a bold man indeed who dared to assert that such an emotion was brought into existence by industrial competition.

On the other hand, history records many instances of useful lives and great talents crushed out or crippled by too harsh a competition. The brilliant Chatterton was compelled by ill circumstances to harness his genius and waste his splendid powers on the copying of deeds. Finally, after three days' starvation—too proud to accept alms—he died by his own hand in a lonely garret. Johnson and Goldsmith lived in penury. Shakespeare, the intellectual giant of the ages, lived harassed by debt and died a comparative nobody—a play-actor, a "fellow of the baser sort." To this list might be added the names of most of the literary celebrities of the past. With few exceptions they lived in misery, pandering to the humors of some patron, and died in poverty.

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WHAT THEN?

When the mind is mapped as streets arrow on row;
When the heart is tamed from Love's narcosoaring throe;
When the poet's winged fancy
Is an outgrown necromancy;
When the rain of inspiration turns to snow:
What then?

When all doubts and fears are backward cast;
When the dream of world-wide Brotherhood is past;
When the prophet's radiant vision
Is too futile for derision;
When the soul is but a formula at last:
What then?

When the fierce machine has conquered flesh and blood;
When the labor-power is belt and wheel and rod;
When the unfit nations wonder
At the gold we stagger under;
When the world is but an economic clod:
What then?

—Herbert N. Casson.

The Steel Trust's Profits.

Considerable interest is aroused by the dividend of $25,000,000 paid by the United States Steel Corporation, and by the further report that this large sum represents only a part of the great concern's profits. As the New York Journal of Commerce tells it:

"Checks were sent on Wednesday to members of the underwriting syndicate of the United States Steel Corporation amounting to 12½ per cent. of their nominal subscriptions, or to $25,000,000 in the aggregate, the syndicate being for the nominal sum of $200,000,000. As only 12½ per cent. of this amount was called, however, it will be seen that the current dividend or distribution by the managers of the syndicate is practically the return of the entire amount actually paid in. In addition to this payment it is learned on reliable authority that the profits of the syndicate are largely in excess of the amount actually paid in. It was recently noted in these columns that these profits were estimated at about 26½ per cent., or say $53,000,000. It is now estimated, however, that these profits may equal or exceed 30 per cent., or $60,000,000. The syndicate does not expire until next May, it is understood, and it may be that a part or all of the profits will be retained until that time, as emergencies might arise which would make it desirable to use these funds in supporting the stock, or for other purposes. Up to date, however, according to the most reliable authority obtainable, the financial history of the syndicate may be summarized as follows:

Nominal capital	$200,000,000
On which paid in 12½ per cent..	25,000,000
Returned, November 27, 12½ per cent..............................	25,000,000
Undistributed, being profits (estimated)	60,000,000

"This would be considerably over 200 per cent. on the investment."

Capitalist Press on Socialism.

The subject of Socialism is not one to be ignored nor to be sneered out of discussion by the beneficiaries of the oligarchy of wealth. It is receiving the best thoughts of the best minds of the most enlightened nations of the earth.—Editorial in Seattle Daily Times.

The Portland "Oregonian" says: "Socialism is in the air. It has conquered the ranks of labor and permeated the schools of learning."

The Boston "Post" says: "The immense consolidations that have marked the opening of the century point unmistakably to the strengthening of the Socialist idea."

The St. Louis "Mirror" says: "The development of the consolidation idea renders all protest against ultimate Socialism futile and foolish."

The St. Louis "Globe-Democrat" says: "Socialism promises to be a force with which American statesmen may have to reckon."

The New York "Tribune" says: "The capitalist and captain of industry in these latter days has set himself to demonstrate that the theories of the Socialist are sound."

The Boston "Daily Post," after discussing the trust outlook, remarks: "What is to come of all this? It is one more long step towards Socialism."

Possibly the Socialist party will gain sufficient strength of numbers to force on one or both of the great political parties certain of the reforms they advocate. It is to be hoped that they will.—Barbara Independent.

The Socialist theory and proposition must be reckoned with, and can by no means be dismissed with a sneer.—Springfield (Mass.) Republican.

Women Wage Earners.

For a girl coming to New York to study an income of at least $12 a week is necessary to live in civilized decency, leaving the luxuries out of the question. Anything less means physical deterioration, a dulling of the mental faculties and a consequent inability to do her work well.

Judged by this standard 90 per cent. of the working women of New York are dangerously underpaid. Less than 10 per cent.—that is, less than 15,000—receive $9 a week or more. Twenty-eight per cent.—in round numbers 45,000—are paid less than $5. The general average is $5.24. Altogether there are about 150,000 women wage earners in the city. They divide naturally into three great classes—factory workers, commercial employes, such as clerks, saleswomen, stenographers and telegraphers, and domestic workers. In the commercial pursuits there is probably the largest number of adequately paid workers; but, on the whole, considering the majority of ordinary workers, there is little or no difference in conditions. The average working woman suffers physically from lack of food, from insanitary housing both at home and in her workshop, from inability to get sufficient and suitable clothing. On the psychological side she suffers chiefly from an inadequate system of education and want of wholesome amusement and recreation.

These women wage earners comprise about one-fifth of the adult population, so their healthy development, physically and mentally, morally and spiritually, is a matter of vital consequence to the whole community. Yet not one person in a thousand ever thinks of them. The few who have not only thought, but investigated and tried to improve conditions, have, for the most part, been workers like themselves. To the 10 per cent. of the working men and women organized in trades unions belongs most of the credit for the state and national legislative committees which have investigated the affairs of working women and for the factory and sweatshop inspection laws which have wrought some improvement.—Harper's Bazar.

Had Barrels of Money.

In Cincinnati a prominent minister, investigating the strike of the machinists, started to quiz a striker in the presence of Attorneys Eugene Poicey and W. H. Ganlay.

"How much did you get, my good man?"

"Two dollars a day."

"Two dollars a day? Why, that is good wages. What did you do with it?"

"I'll tell you, but don't let it get out," said the striker, satirically. "After I paid taxes, assessments, living expenses for a family of six, I placed the balance in a flour barrel, and when it was full I headed it up and began on another barrel. My cellar is full of barrels of money."—Exchange.

SOCIALISM UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC.

By FREDERICK ENGELS.

Whilst the capitalist mode of production more and more completely transforms the great majority of the population into proletarians, it creates the power which, under penalty of its own destruction, is forced to accomplish this revolution. Whilst it forces on more and more the transformation of the vast means of production, already socialized, into state property, it shows itself the way to accomplishing this revolution. The proletariat seizes political power and turns the means of production into state property.

But, in doing this, it abolishes itself as proletariat, abolishes all class distinctions and class antagonisms, abolishes also the state as state. Society thus far, based upon class antagonisms, had need of the state. That is, of an organization of the particular class which was pro tempore the exploiting class, an organization for the purpose of preventing any interference from without with the existing conditions of production, and therefore, especially, for the purpose of forcibly keeping the exploited classes in the condition of oppression corresponding with the given mode of production (slavery, serfdom, wage labor). The state was the official representative of society as a whole; the gathering of it together into a visible embodiment. But it was this only in so far as it was the state of that class which itself represented, for the time being, society as a whole; in ancient times, the state of slave-owning citizens; in the Middle Ages, the feudal lords; in our own time, the bourgeoisie. When at last it becomes the real representative of the whole of society, it renders itself unnecessary. As soon as there is no longer any social class to be held in subjection; as soon as class rule, and the individual struggle for existence based upon our present anarchy in production, with the collisions and excesses arising from these, are removed, nothing more remains to be repressed, and a special repressive force, a state, is no longer necessary. The first act by virtue of which the state really constitutes itself the representative of the whole of society—the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society—this is, at the same time, its last independent act as a state. State interference in social relations becomes, in one domain after another, superfluous, and then dies out of itself; the government of persons is replaced by the administration of things, and by the conduct of processes of production. The state is not "abolished." It dies out. This gives the measure of the value of the phrase "a free state," both as to its justifiable use at times by agitators, and as to its ultimate scientific insufficiency, and also of the demands of the so-called Anarchists for the abolition of the state out of hand.

Since the historical appearance of the capitalist mode of production, the appropriation by society of all the means of production has often been dreamed of, more or less vaguely, by individuals, as well as by sects, as the ideal of the future. But it could become possible, could become a historical necessity, only when the actual conditions for its realization were there. Like every other social advance, it becomes practicable, not by men understanding that the existence of classes is in contradiction to justice, equality, etc., not by the mere willingness to abolish these classes, but by virtue of certain new economic conditions. The separation of society into an exploiting and an exploited class, a ruling and an oppressed class, was the necessary consequence of the deficient and restricted development of production in former times. So long as the total social labor only yields a produce which but slightly exceeds that barely necessary for the existence of all; so long, therefore, as labor engages all or almost all the time of the great majority of the members of society—so long, of necessity, this society is divided into classes. Side by side with the great majority, exclusively bond slaves to labor, arises a class freed from directly productive labor, which looks after the general affairs of society; the direction of labor, state business, law, science, art, etc. It is, therefore, the law of division of labor that lies at the basis of the division into classes. But this does not prevent this division into classes from being carried out by means of violence and robbery, trickery and fraud. It does not prevent the ruling class, once having the upper hand, from consolidating its power at the expense of the working class, from turning their social leadership into an intensified exploitation of the masses.

But if, upon this showing, division into classes has a certain historical justification, it has this only for a given period, only under given social conditions. It was based upon the insufficiency of production. It will be swept away by the complete development of modern productive forces. And, in fact, the abolition of classes in society presupposes a degree of historical evolution, at which the existence, not simply of this or that particular ruling class, but of any ruling class at all, and, therefore, the existence of class distinction itself has become an obsolete anachronism. It presupposes, therefore, the development of production carried out to a degree at which appropriation of the means of production and of the products, and, with this, of political domination, of the monopoly of culture, and of intellectual leadership by a particular class of society, has become not only superfluous, but economically, politically, intellectually a hindrance to development.

This point is now reached. Their political and intellectual bankruptcy is scarcely any longer a secret to the bourgeoisie themselves. Their economic bankruptcy recurs regularly every ten years. In every crisis, society is suffocated beneath the weight of its own productive forces and products, which it cannot use, and stands helpless, face to face with the absurd contradiction that the producers have nothing to consume, because consumers are wanting. The expansive force of the means of production bursts the bonds that the capitalist mode of production had imposed upon them. Their deliverance from these bonds is the one precondition for an unbroken, constantly-accelerated development of the productive forces, and therewith for a practically unlimited increase of production itself. Nor is this all. The socialized appropriation of the means of production does away, not only with the present artificial restrictions upon production, but also with the positive waste and devastation of productive forces and products that are at the present time the inevitable concomitants of production, and that reach their height in the crises. Further, it sets free for the community at large a mass of means of production and of products, by doing away with the senseless extravagance of the ruling classes of today, and their political representatives. The possibility of securing for every member of society, by means of socialized production, an existence not only fully sufficient materially, and becoming day by day more full, but an existence guaranteeing to all the free development and exercise of their physical and mental faculties—this possibility is now for the first time here, but it is here.

With the seizing of the means of production by society, production of commodities is done away with, and simultaneously, the mastery of the product over the producer. Anarchy in social production is replaced by systematic, definite organization. The struggle for individual existence disappears. Then for the first time man, in a certain sense, is finally marked off from the rest of the animal kingdom, and emerges from mere animal condition of existence into really human ones. The whole sphere of the conditions of life which environ man, and which have hitherto ruled man, now comes under the dominion and control of man, who for the first time becomes the real, conscious lord of Nature, because he has now become master of his own social organization. The laws of his own social action, hitherto standing face to face with man as laws of Nature foreign to, and dominating him, will then be used with full understanding, and so mastered by him. Man's own social organization, hitherto confronting him as a necessity imposed by Nature and history, now becomes the result of his own free action. The extraneous objective forces that have hitherto governed history, pass under the control of man himself. Only from that time will man himself, more and more consciously, make his own history—only from that time will the social causes set in movement by him have, in the main and in a constantly-growing measure, the results intended by him. It is the ascent of man from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom.

Let us briefly sum up our sketch of historical evolution.

I. Mediaeval Society.—Individual production on a small scale. Means of production adapted for individual use, hence primitive, ungainly, petty, dwarfed in action. Production for immediate consumption, either of the producer himself or of his feudal lord. Only where an excess of production over this consumption occurs is such excess offered for sale, enters into exchange. Production of commodities, therefore, only in its infancy. But already it contains within itself, in embryo, anarchy in the production of society at large.

II. Capitalist Revolution. — Transformation of industry, at first by means of simple co-operation and manufacture. Concentration of the means of production, hitherto scattered, into great workshops. As a consequence, their transformation from individual to social means of production—a transformation which does not, on the whole, affect the form of exchange. The old forms of appropriation remain in force. The capitalist appears. In his capacity as owner of the means of production, he also appropriates the products and turns them into commodities. Production has become a social act. Exchange and appropriation continue to be individual acts, the acts of individuals. The social product is appropriated by the individual capitalist. Fundamental contradiction, whence arise all the contradictions in which our present day society moves, and which modern industry brings to light.

A. Severance of the producer from the means of production. Condemnation of the worker to wage labor for life. Antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

B. Growing predominance and increasing effectiveness of the laws governing the production of commodities. Unbridled competition. Contradiction between socialized organization in the individual factory and social anarchy in production as a whole.

C. On the one hand, perfecting of machinery, made by competition compulsory for each individual manufacturer, and complemented by a constantly growing displacement of laborers. Industrial reserve army. On the other hand, unlimited extension of production, also compulsory under competition, for every manufacturer. On both sides, unheard of development of productive forces, excess of supply over demand, over-production, glutting of the markets, crises every ten years, the vicious circle excess here, of means of production and products—excess there, of laborers, without employment and without means of existence. But these two levers of production and of social well-being are unable to work together, because the capitalist form of production prevents the productive forces from working and the products from circulating, unless they are first turned into capital—which their very superabundance prevents. The contradiction has grown into an absurdity. The mode of production rises in rebellion against the form of exchange. The bourgeoisie are convicted of incapacity further to manage their own social productive forces.

D. Partial recognition of the social character of the productive forces forced upon the capitalists themselves. Taking over of the great institutions for production and communication, first by joint-stock companies, later on by trusts, then by the state. The bourgeoisie demonstrated to be a superfluous class. All its social functions are now performed by salaried employes.

III. Proletarian Revolution.—Solution of the contradictions. The proletariat seizes the public power, and by means of this transforms the socialized means of production, slipping from the hands of the bourgeoisie, into public property. By this act, the proletariat frees the means of production from the character of capital they have thus far borne, and gives their socialized character complete freedom to work itself out. Socialized production upon a predetermined plan becomes henceforth possible. The development of production makes the existence of different classes of society thenceforth an anachronism. In proportion as anarchy in social production vanishes, the political authority of the state dies out. Man, at last the master of his own form of social organization, becomes at the same time the lord over Nature, his own master—free.

To accomplish this act of universal emancipation is the historical mission of the modern proletariat. To thoroughly comprehend the historical conditions and thus the very nature of this act, to impart to the now oppressed proletarian class a full knowledge of the conditions and of the meaning of the momentous act it is called upon to accomplish, this is the task of the theoretical expression of the proletarian movement, scientific socialism.

THE MIGHT OF THE WORKERS.

When the workers shall wake to their might,
All the workers of brain and of brawn;
When they stand for the strength of the right;
When they stand with their eyes to the dawn;

When they gather and gather in force,
When they flinch not, nor quiver nor fall;
When they help on the good in its course,
When they know that the truth must prevail,

When the light of a purpose proceeds
From the innermost core of the life!—
It is this that forever succeeds;
It is this that shall settle the strife.

—H. S. Genevra Lake.

How To Become Rich.

In a New Hampshire city there dwells an octogenarian physician who, in addition to his wide medical skill, is known far and wide as a dispenser of blunt philosophy. The other day a young man of his acquaintance called at his office, says the Buffalo Commercial.

"I have not come for pills this time, doctor," said the visitor, "but for advice. you have lived many years in this world of toil and trouble and have had much experience. I am young and want you to tell me how to get rich."

The aged practitioner gazed through his glasses at the young man and in a deliberate tone said:

"Yes, I can tell you. You are young and can accomplish your object if you will. Your plan is this: First, be industrious and economical. Save as much as possible and spend as little. Pile up the dollars and put them at interest. If you follow out these instructions by the time you reach my age you'll be as rich as Croesus and as mean as hell."

The Life-Spring of Society.

Labor in its relation to capital as a subject of discussion seems to occupy the forum of public opinion with a persistency that is remarkable. The leading newspapers and magazines are devoting a great deal of space to the subject, and some of the world's deepest thinkers are giving it their almost undivided attention. This is as it should be, for of all the subdivisions of economics it is the most important; the philosophers who study that branch of science find in it the basic principle upon which rests the whole social superstructure. Labor is the life-spring of society, without it society could not exist, let alone improve in condition. This being the case any attempt to dispel the ignorance of practical conditions as they are, and that will show and teach the true status of labor in and to society, ought to be hailed with joy by the worker, for the reason that it can only end in conclusions that will tend to improve his condition. It is one of the most healthy signs of the times and is fraught with glad tidings for the toiler.

A true knowledge of economic conditions—knowledge gained from scientific research—will be of great benefit to all classes of society, but particularly so to its most important part, to its foundation, to labor. Rash statements are very often made that have a tendency to mislead the great mass of the toilers who have had no opportunity to study social conditions, and this active fermentation of thought along economic lines will do much to counteract the errors to which these misstatements gave birth. Labor has nothing to fear from an honest investigation of its relation to capital in this newly-awakened interest in social economics.—Machinists' Journal.

What I Would Like for Christmas.

If I had the power to produce exactly what I want for next Christmas, I would have all the kings and emperors resign and allow the people to govern themselves.

I would have all the nobility drop their titles and give their lands back to the people. I would have the Pope throw away his tiara, take off his sacred vestments, and admit that he is not acting for God—is not infallible—but is just an ordinary Italian. I would have all the cardinals, archbishops, bishops, priests and clergymen admit that they know nothing about theology, nothing about hell or heaven, nothing about the destiny of the human race, nothing about devils or ghosts, gods or angels. I would have them tell all their "flocks" to think for themselves, to be manly men and womanly women, and to do all in their power to increase the sum of human happiness.

I would have all professors in colleges, all the teachers in schools of every kind, including those in Sunday schools, agree that they would teach only what they know, that they would not palm off guesses as demonstrated truths.

I would like to see all the politicians changed to statesmen—to men who long to make their country great and free, to men who care more for public good than private gain, men who long to be of use.

I would like to see all the editors of papers and magazines agree to print the truth, and nothing but the truth, to avoid all slander and misrepresentation, and to let the private affairs of the people alone.

I would like to see drunkenness and prohibition both abolished.

I would like to see corporal punishment done away with in every home, in every school, in every asylum, reformatory and prison. Cruelty hardens and degrades, kindness reforms and ennobles.

I would like to see the millionaires unite and form a trust for the public good.

I would like to see a fair division of profits between capital and labor, so that the toiler could save enough to mingle a little June with the December of his life.

I would like to see an international court established in which to settle disputes between nations, so that armies could be disbanded and the great navies allowed to rust and rot in perfect peace.

I would like to see the whole world free—free from injustice, free from superstition.

This will do for next Christmas. The following Christmas I may want more.—Robert G. Ingersoll.

The Distribution of Wealth.

In his message to Congress, President Roosevelt, in that part of his discussion of the trust question in which he sought to establish himself as a "conservative statesman," said, "it is not true that as the rich have grown richer the poor have grown poorer. On the contrary, never before has the average man, the wage-worker, the farmer, the small trader been so well off as in this country at the present time."

While this may be entirely true, yet it does not indicate that there is a more equitable distribution of wealth—the products of labor—than at any time before in the history of the country. That as the rich have grown richer the poor have not grown poorer, can be due to but one reason, more wealth is being produced by labor than ever before. If this were not the case, the rich could not grow richer without the poor growing poorer.—Milwaukee News.

Shave yourself and enjoy the luxury by using one of our fine Premium Razors. We will send you one the first week in January for ten new yearly subscriptions.

SOCIALIST PARTY NEWS.

LABORING MEN'S VICTORY ON THE SOCIALIST TICKET.

Lockout by a Corporation Results in Socialists Capturing Nearly All Public Offices in a Washington Town.

You will be pleased to hear of a Socialist victory out here in Washington. What is known as Northport is a place of about 2000 inhabitants, but only a small portion of the people live in the incorporated portion. The Northport Mining and Smelting works are situated here and is a central point fur the Nelson and Fort Shepard railroad going to Nelson, B. C., and for the Red Mountain road to Rossland, B. C., and the Spokane Falls and Northern going to Spokane. It is the center of quite a mining district.

About eight months ago the manager of the smelting company put forth the edict that all men belonging to the union must quit their union or quit the works. In short, they were locked out and thereupon a strike was declared against the company. The union men have all stood solid, but the company brought men from Joplin, Mo., and have kept the works going, but it is said at great loss. During these eight months these men or, rather, a large part of them, have been induced to join the Socialist party and they are studying and discussing economic questions. They concluded it was time to go into politics and joined in placing a ticket in the field. No sooner did they do this than the Democrats, Republicans, Populists, and a few so-called "Socialists" joined in nominating an opposing ticket under the name "Citizens' ticket." The fight was brought off December 3 and every man on the Socialist ticket but one was elected. Every man on the Socialist ticket was a laborer except one who had for his occupation accountant. The managers of the Citizens' ticket declared that the laboring men had no right to enter politics and put up a ticket of their own class. The business men and merchants even went so far as to tell the comrades that they must either quit politics or they, the merchants and business men, would quit them. The men kept to their guns and elected their men with majorities ranging from 10 to 28.

We elected the following public officers: Mayor, councilman-at-large, three councilmen, city clerk, city treasurer and health officer. Comrade George Stillinger was elected mayor.

J. C. HARKNESS.

Preparing for Convention.

A meeting of the committee appointed by the Central committee to arrange for a convention of the party in the city was held last Sunday morning at 318 State street. Comrade W. Rehfeld was elected chairman and N. Andersen secretary. A committee of five was appointed to draw up a call for the convention consisting of Comrades V. L. Berger, P. Siegel, E. H. Rooney, G. Hollabeck and N. Anderson.

Comrades E. H. Rooney, H. Harbicht and J. Grundman were appointed to secure a hall.

It was further decided that we hold the convention in or about the third week in January, and that if it can be done under the law, the labor unions should be invited.

The full committee will meet again next Sunday morning at 318 State street and receive and act upon the reports of the various committees.

GENERAL NOTES.

Socialists of Colorado will hold state convention at Denver on December 29.

The vote of Nebraska for the Socialist party this fall was 2007, against 823 a year ago.

Socialists of Oklahoma will hold territorial convention at Kingfisher on December 27.

Sumner F. Claflin has been elected national committeeman from New Hampshire.

The final and official returns from Massachusetts show for the Socialist party an average vote for the five candidates on state ticket of 12,067 and for the S. L. P., 8573. Comrade Bradley's vote for governor last year was 13,260; S. L. P., 8784.

The comrades who have seen those razors we are offering free for ten subscribers want them.

In Boston the two old parties combined on a candidate for sheriff, and as a result Patrick Mahoney, the Socialist party candidate, received 13,403 votes.

In the mayoralty contest at Haverhill, Mass., Poor (Republican-Democratic candidate), was re-elected. Parkman B. Flanders, Socialist, received 2341.

Many of the applications for charters in Colorado contain the names of women, which is significant in view of the fact that women are permitted to vote in that state.

Kansas state convention located headquarters at Abilene, with J. D. Haskell for secretary-treasurer; W. C. Benton organizer, and W. T. Mills member of national committee.

While the third number of The Comrade is somewhat better than the second, it is not up to the standard of the initial number, either from an artistic or literary point of view.

Charters were issued December 6 to Baltimore, Md.; Little Rock, Ark.; Burms, Ark.; Golden, Col.; Idaho Falls, Idaho; Angus, Minn.; Cedar City, Utah; Magnolia, Idaho; Richmond, Va.; Salt Lake, Utah; Norfolk, Va.

A subscription for one year for The Herald has been received from Fort Logan, Mont., in an unsigned letter dated December 4. Will the party sending the same forward his name so that we can place it on the list?

Comrade A. M. Simons has returned to editorial work on the Workers' Call, which doubtless explains the frazzelled appearance and marked deterioration of the December number of the International Socialist Review. If Simons will now cut out the Unterman cartoons from the Call he will do the movement a real service.

Wisconsin Notes.

Comrade E. H. Thomas will be the lecturer at the regular Sunday night meeting at Kaiser's hall, December 15.

We are offering free for ten new subscribers a fine Two Dollar Razor. Just what you want. Easy to get.

Dr. H. C. Berger gave his lecture on "Crime and Its Origin" at a meeting held by Branch 43, Thursday evening.

The Socialist Maennerchor will rehearse during the winter for a grand concert to be given on the second Saturday of next April at Liedertafel hall.

There was no Sunday night lecture last Sunday owing to the entertainment. The course will be resumed tomorrow night (December 15) and will continue without further interruption through the winter.

There will be a meeting at Meixner's hall, corner of Twenty-seventh and Vliet streets, Tuesday evening, December 17, for the purpose of organizing a club of Social Democrats in the Nineteenth ward. All Socialists in the ward are earnestly invited to attend.

It is expected that Comrade Corinne S. Brown will visit several places in Calumet and Manitowoc counties at an early date to speak and organize. Branches desiring to make appointments for Mrs. Brown may communicate with this office or E. G. Lindner, Kiel, Wis.

We regret to announce the death of Comrade Arthur J. Weilip, a member of Branch 43 of this city. He was a faithful worker in the party and respected by all who knew him. Appropriate resolutions were adopted by the branch and the local charter ordered draped for thirty days.

The entertainment and ball given under party auspices at Bahn Frei Turner hall last Sunday was a success. The attendance filled the large hall to overflowing and the programme, particularly the singing of the Socialist Maennerchor, accompanied by Bach's orchestra, was thoroughly enjoyed. The young people danced up to a late hour. The committee in charge expect to report a handsome surplus, notwithstanding the heavy expenses incurred.

The Class Struggle.

News of the Labor Movement Throughout the World.

Gompers' Report.

Mr. Gompers' report to the American Federation of Labor, now in session at Scranton, Pa., showed a net increase of 311 local unions for the year and a gain of 364,410 members. From national and international unions and the federation direct there were issued 4056 charters for newly formed unions. Charters surrendered or unions disbanded numbered 1150. On October 31 last there were affiliated with the federation: National and internationl unions, 87; city central labor unions, 327; state federations of labor, 20; local trade unions having no national or international, 750, and federal labor unions, 399.

There were four strikes of a general character during the year. About these the report says that of the river and dock workers of San Francisco was a distinct victory. The purpose for which the strike of the Amalgamated Association of Steel and Iron Workers was inaugurated was not achieved, and it was terminated upon conditions less advantageous than perhaps could have been obtained.

Officers of the International Association of Machinists report that their strike has very largely succeeded in establishing the nine-hour rule in that trade. They claim the settlements reached have given 60,000 machinists a shorter workday, 15,000 others are affected by compromises reached and 75,000 machinists will receive an average of 25 cents a day increase in wages.

The report denounces the employment of young children and contends for greater organization among women workers. Mr. Gompers says he has arranged an active campaign for the re-enactment of the Chinese exclusion act.

Treasurer Lennon's report showed an income of $126,522, expenses $118,708, total funds at hand $8814. Secretary Morrison's report shows the total number of strikes of all kinds reported aggregated 1056, in which 153,505 members were benefited and 12,707 were not benefited. Their total cost was $548,003.

Ben Tillet and Charles Chanler, fraternal delegates from the British Trades unions, addressed the American Federation of Labor Saturday.

Mr. Tillet spoke of the splendid work the Miners' Federation, composed of a million men, was doing in England and Scotland.

Mr. Chanler referred to the benefits of trades unionism and advocated old age pensions. He also advocated high assessments in the unions.

Among the resolutions introduced was one requesting members of unions not to join the militia in any state.

Miss Harriet A. Keyser, secretary of the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor, said her organization had adopted the union label and would not deal in any goods that were not so labeled.

Trades Unions and Labor News.

The metal polishers voted down the question of "autonomy" and severance from brassworkers.

Philadelphia unionists are discussing the question of taking independent political action.

New York printers expect trouble on January 1. About 3000 of them want an increase of wages.

The Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel workers spent, in round numbers, $95,000 during the great steel strike.

Farm laborers now have thirty-three unions in the country and met in Edwardsville, Ill., to form a national organization.

The billion-dollar steel trust has organized a separate bureau to control 50,000 acres of soft coal and is going into the mining business on a large scale.

Representatives of the brewery workmen and the organized bosses held a conference in Washington and discussed the question of adopting a uniform wage scale and working hours.

Among the bills passed by the Philadelphia Select council on the 21st ult. was one requiring city contractors to employ none but first-class workmen and at the rate of wages paid organized labor.

Delegate Dietrich of Washington, D. C., presented a resolution in the American Federation convention protesting against subsidy legislation by Congress and another resolution called for the appointment of a committee to draft a memorial to Congress to prohibit the granting of injunctions against organized labor.

Though having lost their strike two weeks ago the switchmen and freight handlers of the New York, New Haven & Hartford had their hours of labor reduced from ten to eight per day.

The proposed joint meeting of miners and West Virginia operators failed to materialize, the latter not putting in an appearance, and now there are more threats of a strike.

In the A. F. of L. convention Max Hayes of Cleveland introduced a resolution providing for the admittance of minors, under 18 years of age, into unions at a reduced per capita tax.

The coal miners of British Columbia are greatly perturbed by indications that a large number of Finn laborers are to be imported and put to work by the Dunsmuirs in the extension of the Wellington coal mines at Nanaimo.

The National Glass company announced that it has abandoned its plants at Findlay, O., and Summitville, Ind. Each plant employs 100 hands. The work is to be done at the company's new plant at Cambridge, O.

The state printing of Texas will henceforth be done in union offices, E. S. Hughes, a staunch union man, having been elected secretary of the state printing board, defeating C. E. Gilbert, an anti-unionist, for the position.

The report that a lodge of iron and steel workers at New Castle, Pa., had surrendered its charter and decided to invest its funds in U. S. Steel Corporation stock, is pronounced a fabrication and the lodge is loyal to the union.

M. Baudin, French minister of public works, has obtained the sanction of his colleagues to a scheme to reduce gradually the hours of labor in the mines. The plan is for nine hours' labor, beginning next July; eight and one-half hours in 1904 and eight hours in 1909.

Work on the rapid transit tunnel from Sixtieth street to One Hundred and Fourth street, New York, was stopped because of a strike of 600 laborers. The men who had been receiving $1.65 a day were notified of a cut to $1.50, which they refused to accept.

Trades council of Newark, N. J., instructed its delegate to the Scranton convention to labor for the adoption of a resolution in favor of independent political action to overthrow capitalism and inaugurate the co-operative commonwealth.

President Mitchell advises the anthracite miners to get ready to inaugurate the eight-hour day next spring, and if it doesn't come as a concession to fight for it. The bosses are still reported as keeping up open and secret attacks on the unions.

New Orleans fruit trust has introduced an electric machine that unloads ships and cars. About a thousand laborers will be displaced, and one-third of the time required to unload will be saved and the loss of fruit will be reduced one-fourth.

A Texas man has invented a contrivance that will do away with newspaper mailers. The device is attached to printing press and stamps the name of the subscriber on the upper outside margin of the paper. Its speed is only limited by the speed of the press.

Morgan has thrown his hooks into the Central Iron & Steel Co., the Tidewater Steel Co., Lukens Iron & Steel Co. and Worth Bros., steel plate manufacturers of Pennsylvania. Morgan's scheme is said to contemplate running the group independent for a time.

Government of Sweden has ordered the directors of the state railways to prepare plans for converting the steam railways to electric roads. Waterfalls will be utilized to generate electric power, as is now done at Niagara Falls, and with this power the railways can be operated.

American capitalists have established shoe stores in Vienna and are underselling the "pauper" European product. The Austrian shoeworkers are greatly excited, and some commentaries think the bitter agitation that is the outcome may lead to riots and final disruption of the empire.

A terrific labor fight is expected in St. Louis. The building trades demand that all work in their line for the World's fair be done by union men. The contractors' league has issued its ultimatum in which it is declared that sympathetic strikes won't be tolerated and nonunion men will be hired where necessary.

The industrial commission has issued a report on railway labor in the United States. It shows that railway employes constitute an army of nearly 1,000,000 people, with probably 5,000,000 dependent upon the wages paid. The report says that for years to come the railways will absorb an increasing number of employes.

Speaking of Edison's new storage battery, an expert mechanic says, in the Machinists' Journal, that "it makes possible the electric wagon or truck, the commercial automobile, the airship, the electrically propelled steamship, torpedo boat and ferryboat, and inexpensive electric machinery of all kinds. It will bring about the noiseless city."

An Englishman has invented a process for treating China grass, which grows in India and the Strait settlements, so that it can be used to manufacture textile fabrics. The cloth made therefrom is said to resemble silk and to cost little more than cotton. The supply of the grass is said to be well nigh exhaustless, and it may revolutionize the cloth industry.

In communications to their official journal cigar-makers of Tampa, Fla., verify dispatches recently sent out to the effect that the cigar trust has forced independent manufacturers to run open factories and break signed agreements with the international union. It is also stated that the bosses have been attempting to play the union against the Resistencia, the independent organization of Cuban workers, with the hope of destroying both.

Mrs. Florence Kelley, ex-factory inspector in the state of Illinois and now secretary of the Consumers' League of America, spoke on the subject of "Experiments in Applied Economics" before the university students at the weekly convocation at Madison, Wis. She touched on factory laws of the different states and the work of the Consumers' league in a way that showed a thorough knowledge of the subjects.

The Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers is voting on the proposition to establish a home for aged and disabled painters. If the general idea is adopted, two assessments will be levied next year on the 40,000 members, 50 cents each, during the first six months, and 50 cents more during the latter half of 1902. This would put $40,000 in the hands of the general officers of the brotherhood to carry out the plans of the benevolent project.

A joint committee representing the local district assembly, Knights of Labor, and the Anti-Trust league at Washington, D. C., adopted resolutions calling upon Congress to appropriate a sum equal to that given by Andrew Carnegie for the erection of a Washington public library and that the Carnegie donation be returned to him. This action was taken on the alleged ground that Carnegie is a foe to organized labor. Congress was also asked to pass promptly a Chinese exclusion law and an eight-hour law.

Members of the Shipowners' Drydock company of Chicago filed a petition Thursday in the superior court, asking for an injunction to restrain the Ship Carpenters and Calkers' union from interfering with workmen. It is set forth in the petition that since a strike was declared at the plant of the drydock concern last November members of the union have been trying to induce laborers to join them and quit work. The company further alleges that on account of the interference of which they complain it is having difficulty in carrying out contracts.

Federated Trades Council.

Regular meeting of the Federated Trades Council, Wednesday, December 4, 1901.

The meeting was called to order by the corresponding secretary.

Delegate F. E. Neumann of Typographical union No. 23 was elected chairman for the evening.

The roll call showed all officers present.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read, and were followed by a very lively discussion.

National Organizer R. E. McLean took the floor to reply to a statement contained in the record to the effect that he had been severely criticised at the previous meeting, and stated that if such was the case it must have been done after he had left the meeting, and that such tactics were very unfair; that if any fault was to be found and any charges preferred it should be done to his face and he be given a chance to defend himself.

Business Agent Andersen replied that such was not the case; that he had criticised Brother McLean in his report, and that Brother McLean was present at the time, but had not then seen fit to reply.

Various delegates denounced the work the organizer was doing in this vicinity, claiming that he brought dissension into the local labor movement; that local organizers were able to do better work than he, and that the American Federation of Labor ought to send organizers to other localities where they were needed more than here. To this Brother McLean replied that organizers were needed here, as Milwaukee was not well organized, and that a large number of unions appeared to be asleep or half dead. He also stated that he had been largely instrumental in inducing several organizations to send delegates to the Federated Trades Council, and cited the case of Painters' union No. 222.

A delegate from Painters' union No. 159 declared that the reason No. 222 sent delegates was that they needed the working cards of the Building Trades section, without which they could not secure work in the breweries, to which one of the delegates from No. 222 replied that they did not intend to go into the Building Trades section and did not want the "red card."

On this point the chair ruled that the several organizations must join the respective sections if such were in existence.

After some further discussion, it was moved and seconded that the corresponding secretary report to headquartes the result of Organizer McLean's efforts to "promote harmony" and cite tonight's discussion as a sample. Carried.

On motion the minutes of the previous meeting were then approved as read.

Credentials for delegates from five different unions were read, and, being favorably reported on by the committee on organization and credentials, the same were received and the delegates obligated and seated.

The report of Business Agent Andersen was then submitted. It was a clear and exhaustive summary of the work done by the business agent since the last regular meeting, and showed that the free registration bureau for the unemployed was doing a great deal of good.

The Label section presented a resolution condemning the action of Postmaster Stillman in declining to arbitrate the matter of the discharge of several employes of the North-Western Straw works and recommending that the concern be placed on the unfair list; also, that the business agent be instructed to assist the Straw and Felt Hat Workers' union to bring its struggle to a successful termination.

On motion the resolution was indorsed.

A communication from the joint executive board of the United Brewery Workmen asked for a committee to visit retail dealers and request them to handle only union-made beer bearing the label on the package. This was referred to the business agent.

A communication from the Dayton Central Trades council stated that the Iron Molders had also placed the "National Cash Register" on the unfair list.

Printing Pressmen's union, No. 7, of this city, presented resolutions protesting against alleged expenditure of the funds of the council in aid of the Social Democratic party, and threatening to withdraw its delegates by January 1, 1902, if such practices were continued.

A motion prevailed to request said union to bring proof as to when such alleged expenditures were made.

A delegation from Bay View lodge, No. 3, of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, headed by M. J. Kelly, the former secretary of the lodge, were present and presented a list of the unions who had contributed to their strike fund. A total of $290 had been realized up to date, and had been distributed among the needy and deserving members, a list of whom was also turned over to the council, with a request that a thorough investigation be made in order to give the lie to charges made in some of the daily papers.

Mr. Kelly again took the floor to say that the charge that he was a disorganizer was malicious. The Bay View lodge had 128 members when he came to Milwaukee, whilst the last report he sent on to headquarters as secretary showed a membership of 217.

The executive board and organization committee jointly recommended that unions requiring the services of the business agent pay to the council the sum of 20 cents per hour, this being one-half of the regular rate for committee work.

On motion the recommendation was concurred in.

Comrade Eugene H. Rooney made a motion that the council issue a letter of recommendation to Brother Kelly and his colleagues of Bay View, as it was their intention to seek employment in some other city.

The motion, being duly seconded, was carried.

After some routine business the council adjourned.

VERITAS.

AGENTS FOR THE HERALD.

I. Goldstein, 227 Clinton street, New York. Fruit stand.

W. Rubinstein, 161 Broadway, New York City.

H. Vigderson, 73 Graham avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

E. Vandervoort, 148 South Peoria street, Chicago.

James Lambert, Socialist Temple, 120 S. Western avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Fair and Winter Festival—February 24 to March 3. Watch these columns for particulars.

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Branch Meetings.

The city central committee meets every first and third Monday evening of the month at Kaiser's hall, 298 Fourth street. EUGENE H. ROONEY, Sec.

BRANCH NO. 1, S. D. P., meets on the second Thursday evening of the month at 614 State street.

SECOND WARD BRANCH meets every third Friday of the month, corner Fourth and Chestnut streets. Jacob Hunger, secretary.

FIFTH WARD BRANCH meets every first and third Thursday of the month at southeast corner Reed street and National avenue.

EIGHTH WARD BRANCH (formerly 43) holds free lectures at the hall, corner Fourth avenue and Mineral street, every second and fourth Thursdays at 8 p. m.

TENTH WARD BRANCH meets on the first and third Friday of the month at Bahn Frei Turner hall, Twelfth and North avenue. Ed. Grundmann, Sec., 1720 Lloyd street.

ELEVENTH WARD BRANCH (formerly No. 9) meets at Charles Miller's hall, corner Orchard street and Ninth avenue, every fourth Friday in the month.

THIRTEENTH WARD BRANCH meets every second and fourth Wednesday of the month at 524 Clarke street. H. Schneider, secretary, 630 Fourteenth street.

FIFTEENTH WARD BRANCH meets every second and fourth Wednesday in August Bressler's hall, corner Twentieth and Chestnut streets. Dr. C. Barckmann, secretary, 948 Winnebago street.

SEVENTEENTH WARD BRANCH meets every first and third Thursday at 1224 Kinnickinnic avenue. W. Schwab, secretary, 861 Hilbert street.

TWENTIETH WARD BRANCH meets every first and third Thursday of the month in Folkmann's hall, corner Twenty-first and Center streets.

TWENTY-FIRST WARD BRANCH (formerly No. 22) meets at Gaethke's hall, Green Bay avenue, near Concordia, every second and fourth Tuesday in the month.

TWENTY-SECOND WARD BRANCH (No. 4) meets every first and third Friday of each month at Mueller's hall, corner Twenty-third and Brown streets. George Moerschel, secretary, 891 Twenty-fifth street.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Leon Greenbaum, Room 427, Emilie Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.

WISCONSIN STATE COMMITTEE—Secretary, E. H. Thomas, 614 State street, Milwaukee, Wis.

FRIENDLY CONTEST OF WORKERS

As hitherto announced in The Herald, we are prepared to give a Free Scholarship in Stoll's College, Eau Claire, Wis., the cash value of which is $50, to the one sending in the largest number of subscribers at 50 cents a year to this paper. This unusual offer we are able to make through the generosity of Mr. R. O. Stoll, principal of the college,

TO INCREASE THE CIRCULATION

of The Herald and aid the cause of Socialism. Should the winner be unable to take advantage of his good luck for financial reasons alone, Principal Stoll agrees to find employment for him during the year. In order to give our comrades and friends ample time to make the canvass, it has been decided that the contest shall remain open from

SEPT. 15th TO DEC. 31st, 1901

And the result will be announced as soon thereafter as practicable. The winner can go to the college at any time that suits his convenience and have his choice of a Scientific, Classical or Musical Course. This is a splendid opportunity to help the cause by helping yourself at the same time. To aid you in making the canvass we have had printed a quantity of postal card orders which will be sold at 50 cents each. If the winner desires he may transfer the scholarship to a friend or member of his family.

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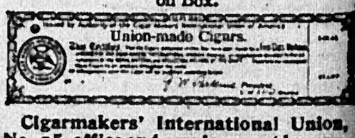

Cigarmakers' International Union, No. 25, office and employment bureau, 318 State Street. Regular meetings second and fourth Tuesday, at 602 Chestnut St. J. Reichert, Financial Secretary.

If you are receiving this paper without having subscribed for it, we ask you to remember that it has been paid for by a friend. When it stops coming—as it will—we shall be glad if you will send us your subscription.

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